DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 303 076 HE 022 096

AUTHOR Skinner, Elizabeth Fisk; Richardson, Richard C., Jr.
TITLE Resolving Access/Quality Tensions: Minority Participation and Achievement in Higher Education. ASHE 1988 Annual Meeting Paper.
INSTITUTION National Center for Postsecondary Governance and Finance, Tempe, AZ.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE Nov 88
NOTE 33p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education (St. Louis, MO, November 3-6, 1988).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Academic Achievement; *Access to Education; American Indians; Blacks; Case Studies; *College Attendance; College Environment; Comparative Analysis; Educational Opportunities; Educational Quality; *Equal Education; Higher Education; Hispanic Americans; *Minority Groups; Nondiscriminatory Education; Public Colleges; Racial Discrimination; School Holding Power
IDENTIFIERS *ASHE Annual Meeting

ABSTRACT

Comparative case studies of 10 public universities (Brooklyn College, California State University, Dominguez Hills, Florida State University, Florida International University, Memphis State University, Temple University, University of California at Los Angeles, University of New Mexico, University of Texas at El Paso, and Wayne State University) are presented to explain the process of adaptation that institutions experience when the achievement of underrepresented minorities becomes a high priority. The case studies included site visits, a questionnaire survey of 1986 graduates, and 108 open-ended interviews. Discussion of the following topics is included: quality and minority access; context for institutional adaptation (state policy environment, the community setting, institutional characteristics); the peripheral position of minority students; how universities resolve access/quality tensions (indicators of stage of adaptation, administrative influences on adaptation); and the stages of adaptation framework. From this data emerges an explanatory framework for understanding the variables influencing minority persistence and graduation in majority institutions. Appended are (1) enrollment and graduation data and (2) enrollment and graduation indices for the 10 case study institutions. Contains 15 references. (SM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED303076

This manuscript is not intended for reproduction or quotation in any form.

RESOLVING ACCESS/QUALITY TENSIONS: MINORITY PARTICIPATION AND ACHIEVEMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Elizabeth Fisk Skinner
Richard C. Richardson, Jr

Organizational Influences on Baccalaureate Achievement by Minorities Project

National Center for Postsecondary Governance and Finance
Arizona State University

A paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Study of Higher Education in St. Louis, Missouri, November 3-6, 1988.

This document was prepared pursuant to a grant from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement/Department of Education (OERI/ED). However, the opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the OERI/ED and no official endorsement by the OERI/ED should be inferred.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

ASHE

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

HE 022 096

ASHE ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Texas A&M University
Department of Educational Administration
College Station, TX 77843
(409) 845-0393

This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education held at the Adam's Mark Hotel in St. Louis, Missouri, November 3-6, 1988. This paper was reviewed by ASHE and was judged to be of high quality and of interest to others concerned with the research of higher education. It has therefore been selected to be included in the ERIC collection of ASHE conference papers.

Resolving Access/Quality Tensions:
Minority Participation and Achievement In Higher Education

Elizabeth Fisk Skinner
Richard C. Richardson Jr.

In the 1960's and early 1970's a combination of legislative, executive, and judicial influences placed pressure on colleges and universities to increase the participation rates of underrepresented minority groups. The rapid influx of new students, many admitted under differential admission standards, improved participation rates but failed to produce anticipated gains in college-educated minority citizens. Race and ethnicity-related attrition rates along with continuing concerns about the public schools led in the 1980's to increases in college admission standards, the assessment movement, and a newly protective attitude toward the curriculum. These quality initiatives have had an adverse impact on the participation of minority students in many majority institutions.

This paper uses comparative case studies of ten public universities (Brooklyn College; California State University, Dominguez Hills; Florida State University; Florida International University; Memphis State University; Temple University; University of California, Los Angeles; University of New Mexico; University of Texas at El Paso; and Wayne State University) to explain the process of adaptation institutions experience when the achievement of underrepresented minorities becomes a high priority. These institutions were selected because of their positive records for enrolling black, Hispanic, or American Indian students and their willingness to share experiences without disguising data. None was predominantly or historically a black or Hispanic institution when the study began in 1986.

The case studies included site visits to the universities, local communities, and state capitals; the collection of relevant documents and institutional data; and the administration of a questionnaire to 1986 graduates of these institutions. In addition, 108 open-ended interviews became a rich source of information about minority student backgrounds and their experiences in the university environment. A complete report of this project will be available from the National Center for Postsecondary Governance and Finance at the University of Maryland in Spring 1989.

From the case-study data emerged an explanatory framework for understanding the variables influencing minority persistence and graduation in majority institutions. The framework leads us to suggest that progress toward

DO NOT DUPLICATE OR QUOTE:

proportional representation and comparable achievement is the result, not of delimited programs or policies, but of more fundamental changes in institutions and their relationships with students and the environment. Attempts to promote minority participation and achievement aggravate tensions inherent in these relationships and catalyze transformations needed to resolve perceived conflicts between goals for maintaining quality and for improving access.

Quality and Minority Access

Quality is a complex concept with at least three distinct meanings in common use (See a related discussion in MAdrid 1988). In the first meaning, the quality of higher education is defined by its essential character or inherent features which are the source of its potency or power. In the second more relational meaning, the quality of a college refers to its degree of excellence or superiority among colleges measured according to some common standards (e.g. selectivity, expenditure per student, faculty research productivity Astin 1985). The third meaning relates to the status or social rank accorded the college and its graduates.

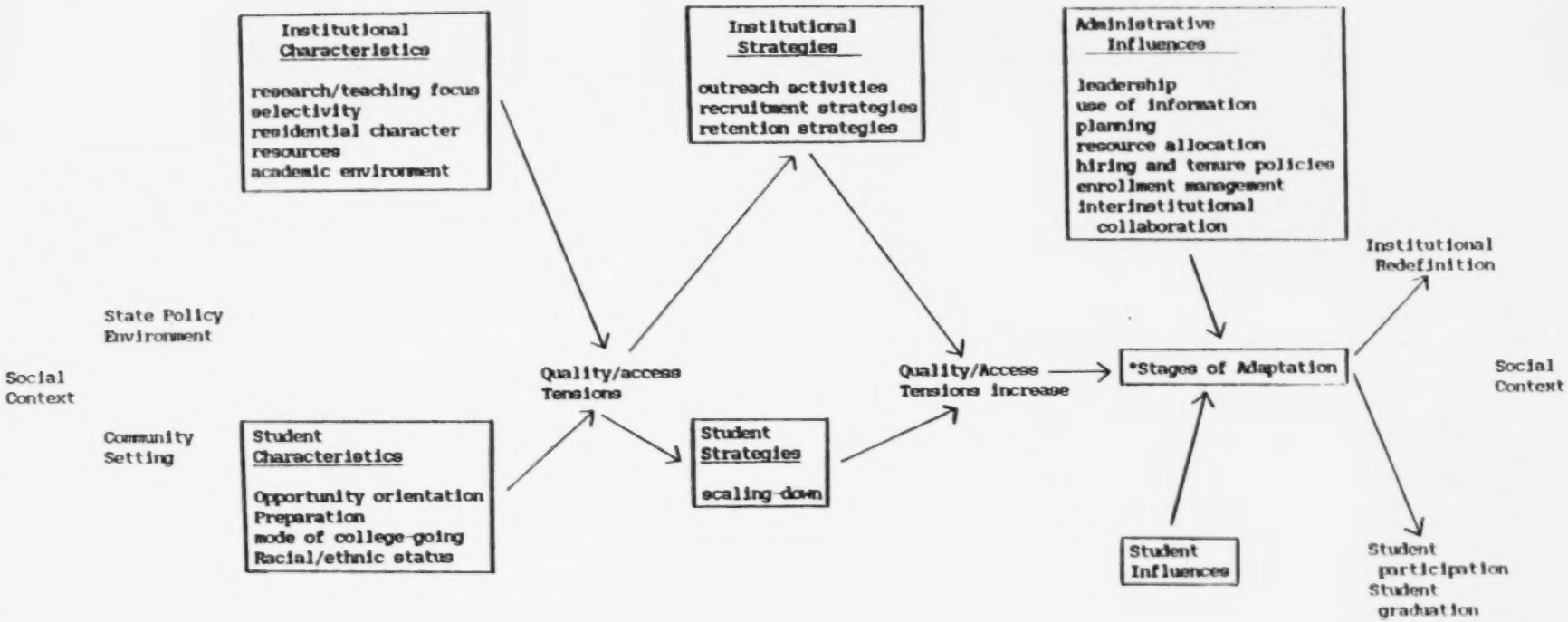
While these three meanings are conceptually distinct, they have become intertwined in practice and are often seen to be in conflict with broadened access for minorities. Institutions that provide good access are assumed to have poor educational quality (Seneca and Taussig 1987). As institutions try to preserve or reinstate features that have been considered essential to the college experience, they may make it impossible for some segments of the society to participate. As they attempt to raise quality ratings, institutions push on to other institutions the task of serving those who can not contribute to this goal. As institutions try to preserve or raise their social status they avoid at all costs the label of "minority institution." Contributing to their concerns are existing arrangements in which minorities remain concentrated in the least prestigious colleges and universities (Astin 1982, Kingston 1984).

Much recent discussion, however, makes the opposite assumption that quality and access goals are related --that the achievement of one necessarily implies the achievement of the other (Atwell 1988; Mingle 1987; Solomon 1981). The attainment of access goals from this perspective requires that minority students receive a high quality education. Reciprocally, quality in a pluralistic society must be defined through the full participation of its diverse populations (Madrid 1988). The discussion has been particularly heated among state-level policymakers where the urgency of redefining quality to accommodate diversity has been a special concern (Education Commission of the States 1987; Mingle 1987; WICHE 1987).

The experiences of the ten case-study institutions suggest a framework for understanding how institutions adapt to achieve proportional representation and comparable achievement by resolving tensions between access and quality goals (See Table 1). Informed by both organizational and student perspectives, the framework envisions external and internal pressures

TABLE 1

A Model for Improving Minority Access and Achievement



* See Table 2 for Indicators of Stages in Adaptation of Organizational Culture to Quality/Access Tensions

DO NOT DUPLICATE OR QUOTE:

influencing a process of adaptation in organizational culture which in turn causes changes in rates of minority enrollment and graduation. The process is cyclical: information about outcomes affects external and internal constituencies, motivating further adaptation.

The Context for Institutional Adaptation

To describe the situations of the case-study institutions when we began our research in 1986, we first developed two indices to estimate the outcomes they were currently experiencing. An enrollment index was computed by dividing the proportion of each minority group enrolled in each university by the proportion of that minority in the state's population of 18-24 year-old high school graduates. A graduation index was computed by dividing the proportion of graduates from a minority group by the proportion of the same group in the undergraduate student body four years earlier. Total undergraduates were used rather than first-time freshmen to take into account the significant number of transfer students many institutions enrolled. For the enrollment index, one indicates proportional representation; for the graduation index, one indicates comparable achievement. This approach provides a rough measure of institutional progress toward meeting participation and achievement goals and permits comparison among institutions over time on the basis of data provided according to a common set of definitions.

This information compiled from HEGIS/IPEDS data for the years 1976, 1980, and 1984 (See Appendices A and B), has proved helpful in understanding the history of the relationship between each institution and the minority groups it serves. It also provided a base for interpreting institutional data on degree achievement since 1984. (HEGIS/IPEDS data on minority graduation is not yet available for these years.)

All ten universities had minority enrollment proportions in 1984 at or above the averages for their states. However, participation was still an issue for some institutions in states where the minority populations were large and underserved statewide. The enrollment index shows that three of the institutions, UCLA, Florida State University, and University of New Mexico (UNM), had enrollment indices far below parity for the substantial minority populations of their states.

The other seven universities had achieved parity in participation for at least one minority population. Wayne State University, Temple University, and Brooklyn College had enrollment indices at or above one for blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians. Memphis State University, the University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP), Florida International University (FIU), and California State University at Dominguez Hills (CSUDH) had all reached parity for the predominant minority in their student bodies.

Most of our ten institutions, however, demonstrated a need to increase minority graduation. In 1984 only two universities, FIU and UTEP, could document parity in graduation for the predominant minority in their

DO NOT DUPLICATE OR QUOTE:

undergraduate enrollment. Three other institutions, Memphis State, Brooklyn College, and Dominguez Hills, showed graduation indices of one in 1980 for a predominant minority, but by 1984 the indices for Memphis State and Dominquez Hills had dropped. Brooklyn College may have maintained parity, but they did not report graduation data by ethnicity in 1984. Other institutions demonstrated little progress in increasing graduation indices from 1980 to 1984, and there was even evidence that the indices had declined, at least for blacks, during this time.

Similarities and differences in these reported outcomes have more meaning when seen in historical perspective. For all ten institutions, previous changes in social context had led to a greater emphasis on minority access although these changes followed three differing scenarios. In several the change was abrupt and far-reaching. Florida State and Memphis State, previously segregated institutions, enrolled their first black students. California State University, Dominguez Hills, a new institution apparently headed for the suburban seclusion of the Palos Verde peninsula, suddenly found itself in the heart of a heavily minority population basin, partly as a result of the Watts riots. Brooklyn College of the City University of New York, along with its sister institutions, experienced the revolutionary effects of open admissions in 1970. Even when the university was forced to retreat from open admissions for financial reasons, revised admissions procedures guaranteed continuing participation for previously underrepresented minority groups.

The University of California, Los Angeles; Florida International University; and the University of Texas at El Paso experienced significant but evolutionary change. At UCLA a combination of student activism, legislative mandates, and system pressures kept affirmative action consistently on the institutional agenda from the early 1960's to the present. Florida International University, from its authorization in 1965, was expected to respond to a Cuban Hispanic exile population that prized education and was among the most culturally and economically advanced in the western hemisphere. Like UCLA, UTEP has been the target of student and community activism as well as state initiatives stemming from court-mandated and voluntary efforts to desegregate the state's systems of colleges and universities.

At Wayne State, Temple University, and the University of New Mexico, the social context has changed more slowly. Because of location and admission policies these three institutions have had environments more consistently receptive to minority student participation than the other institutions in the study. Both Wayne State and Temple have long-standing commitments to working-class minorities with widely varying levels of preparation. The University of New Mexico, described in the case study as a "multicultural institution in a multicultural state," operated under virtually an open admissions policy until very recently. Partly because of their success in providing access, the pressures on these three institutions to improve minority achievement have been more recent and less forceful than those influencing other institutions in the study.

DO NOT DUPLICATE OR QUOTE:

State Policy Environment

Because of resource dependency (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978), public college and university administrators pay close attention to the policy agendas of their states in determining institutional priorities. The stronger the state or system-level governance, the more impact these agendas have on the institution. States vary in the approaches they take to coordinating and managing their systems of public higher education. Strong system-governing boards are responsible for colleges and universities in California, Florida, New York, Tennessee and Texas. These same states have influential coordinating boards with responsibilities for providing information and recommendations to legislators and governors. In these states minority participation and achievement have been important goals on the policy agenda. California and New York have a long history of executive and legislative pronouncements on the importance of equal educational opportunity and the expectation that public institutions will contribute to its attainment. Florida, Tennessee, and Texas have all been the focus of judicial intervention leading to specific targets for participation and the monitoring of institutional progress in achieving these targets.

By contrast, New Mexico, Michigan, and Pennsylvania have had much less prescriptive policy environments. A tradition of institutional autonomy supported by institutional governing boards and relatively weak coordinating arrangements makes it more difficult for these states to influence institutional priorities in systematic ways.

System influences affect minority access and achievement in important ways. State-level access initiatives such as the SEEK program operated by CUNY and EOP in California provide funding for special recruiting and retention efforts. Quality initiatives such as increases in admission standards may work at cross purposes with access initiatives unless careful consideration is given to planning and articulation. In Tennessee the State Board of Regents mandated a system of assessment and remedial/ developmental programs over the objections of Memphis State University.

Issues involving graduation and participation rates for minority students come to public attention only when information is available to establish the nature and magnitude of the problem. States that have strong system coordinating and governing boards usually have good information about minority participation and graduation rates. In contrast, data was either unavailable or had to be developed through special institutional studies for the institutions we studied in Michigan, Pennsylvania, and New Mexico. Typically, information from institutional studies was not widely disseminated even within the university community.

Institutions in states with weak system coordinating and governing arrangements and a concomitant sparsity of publicly available data on minority achievement operate in an environment largely devoid of structures for systematically translating state priorities into institutional responses.

DO NOT DUPLICATE OR QUOTE:

Institutions of similar selectivity typically make the strongest and most systematic efforts to eliminate race/ethnicity-related differences in degree achievement when subjected to continuing pressure from state policies.

Community Setting

Among public urban universities, the local community influences significantly the need for institutional adaptation to promote minority achievement. Where the local economy is growing and dynamic and minority populations share in the resulting employment opportunities, minority higher education is encouraged. This is the case for Hispanics in Miami and El Paso. In contrast, the local economies in Memphis and Detroit are less dynamic influencing the opportunity structure for blacks as reflected in unemployment patterns and the incomes of college graduates.

When minority higher education is seen as a priority, community groups can make an important difference in promoting participation. In Memphis the Holiday Corporation, through its leadership in establishing the Memphis Partners Program, ensures that minority students receive meaningful employment and educational experiences to complement their secondary school work. A directory of organizations working to prevent school dropout among high school students in El Paso listed 27 in January 1987. Community support in the form of scholarship assistance can also influence minority college-going as does the Young Black Scholars program in Los Angeles.

The community setting also contributes to the need for institutional adaptation when the poor quality of the public schools attended by minorities produces discrepancies in their academic preparation. Minority students are heavily dependent on city public schools, many of which enroll few or no Anglo students. In Memphis, where the public schools were described as "improving" after the disrupting effects of desegregation, one in four Anglo students attends a private secondary school. The ratio for blacks is one in fifty. In Detroit all but two highly selective high schools are consensually regarded as "abysmal failures" or worse. Since Wayne State and Memphis State draw most of their matriculating freshmen from local schools, these facts are primary contributors to a sense of crisis when minority enrollments increase. In contrast, UCLA and Florida State enroll very few students from local urban school systems and are less affected by this aspect of community setting.

Institutional Characteristics

As the previous discussion suggests, the influence of social context on an institution depends in part on such characteristics as mission emphasis and selectivity, and for public institutions, these characteristics are largely set by state policy. Depending on ascribed role, institutions react in differing ways to pressure to increase minority participation or achievement and thus have differing experiences in resolving quality/access tensions.

DO NOT DUPLICATE OR QUOTE:

Institutions with limited selectivity respond easily to pressures for increased participation while highly selective institutions are likely to resist. Smaller teaching-oriented institutions more easily increase retention and completion rates than do large research institutions. In addition, institutions with more resources and securer reputations experience less conflict in efforts to accommodate diversity than institutions with scarce resources and competing priorities.

Among case-study institutions, Dominguez Hills, a small teaching-oriented institution with low selectivity, had achieved by 1980 proportional representation for all groups except Hispanics and comparable graduation rates among all groups, but was regarded within the California State University system as an institution with quality problems. Since 1980, quality initiatives have reduced graduation rates while participation rates have been maintained. Brooklyn College and UCLA, as highly selective institutions, have both benefitted from systemwide influences in achieving improved participation rates. Brooklyn, as a teaching-institution, has more easily adapted to achieve comparable graduation rates; while research-oriented UCLA has developed extensive support programs to address race and ethnicity-related disparities in achievement. Florida State, a well-established research institution with moderate selectivity, has used strategies similar to those at UCLA but has the added advantage of a largely residential campus. Substantial resources, solid reputations, and strong state and system influences have helped these three institutions confront the challenges of the adaptation process.

Wayne State, Temple, and UNM, established research institutions with low selectivity, have faced fewer pressures to address the achievement side of adaptation because they have high participation rates in states where the lack of information for monitoring graduation rates, along with weak or nonexistent coordinating structures, have left institutions free to determine their own priorities. In contrast, FIU, UTEP, and Memphis, aspiring research institutions that have experienced substantial local and state pressures and support to improve outcomes for minority students, have given substantially greater attention to achievement strategies.

Community and state influences considered in relation to institutional characteristics explain the readiness of universities to adopt strategies for promoting minority participation and achievement. An increased minority presence, however, can produce internal tensions, setting the stage for changes in organizational culture. Preconceptions about the limited potential of indigenous minorities leads to fears that an increase in minority participation beyond "safe levels" will lower standards because minorities will not participate or achieve like "regular" college students. When little adaptation of organizational culture has occurred, the strategies students adopt to cope with the university environment and the support strategies established by institutions only exacerbate the discriminatory climate.

DO NOT DUPLICATE OR QUOTE:

The Peripheral Position of Minority Students

Student strategies for "scaling down " (Attinasi 1986) the complexity of the university environment, which might otherwise be effective, are complicated for minority students by considerations for race and ethnicity. In a climate of low expectations, such strategies cause the position of minorities to become not only separate but marginal. Institutions facilitate the concentration of minority students in special programs, within separate social networks, and in a small set of relatively low status majors. In effect the marginal status of "minority" programs on campus and the historically marginal position of indigenous minorities in society reinforce each other. Acceptance of special treatment can be perceived as an acknowledgement of inferior status in the institution. Where programs are offered to heavily minority populations under the restrictive terms of federal or state categorical funding, the results are likely to be perceived as stigmatizing.

Differential admissions requirements and student preferences which cause some majors to be heavily populated by minority students have negative consequences in the absence of carefully defined strategies for helping students achieve. Faculty members feel under pressure to adapt standards or lower expectations to avoid flunking out too many of the students upon whose continued presence their jobs depend. The association of low quality with "minority departments" further stigmatized minority participation in the university.

A climate of low expectation also affects the success of informal student coping strategies. When minority students are perceived as a threat to quality, the racial and ethnic exclusiveness of student support networks involves costs. While college is supposed to be an inherently broadening experience, it may for underrepresented minorities be restricting (Fleming 1980) in terms of access to a peer environment as well as other aspects of the social and cognitive environments. Ethnically based support groups whose members come from backgrounds of severely limited opportunity sometimes exert a negative influence by reinforcing low expectations for achievement and feelings of alienation from the system. Student support groups that are most effective in promoting achievement are somewhat exclusive; minority students are sometimes not welcome because of stereotypes about their lack of academic motivation and skill.

How does an institution transform a climate of low expectation to one in which minority access is no longer in conflict with quality? How does an institution achieve a stage in which racial and ethnic separation (which may still continue) and the need for special support (which may still be necessary) no longer produce negative consequences for those who experience them?

DO NOT DUPLICATE OR QUOTE:

How Do Universities Resolve Access/Quality Tensions?

Our model suggests that universities can attain parity in participation and achievement rates for minority and nonminority students only when there is a fundamental adaptation of organizational culture. In this section we first describe the changes in organizational culture that occur for institutions that are successful in reaching parity and then discuss the influences that administrators have on the adaptation process. The indicators of stage of adaptation are summarized in Table 2.

Indicators of Stage of Adaptation

Objectives for Minority Students. When confronted with external pressures for improved access, institutions first concern themselves with recruitment strategies in order to increase participation rates. Retention strategies then become important to help newly recruited clientele cope with an unresponsive institutional environment. If external pressures continue, institutional concerns about revenues and image move the direction of adaptation toward concern with academic achievement as measured by the proportions of minorities who graduate.

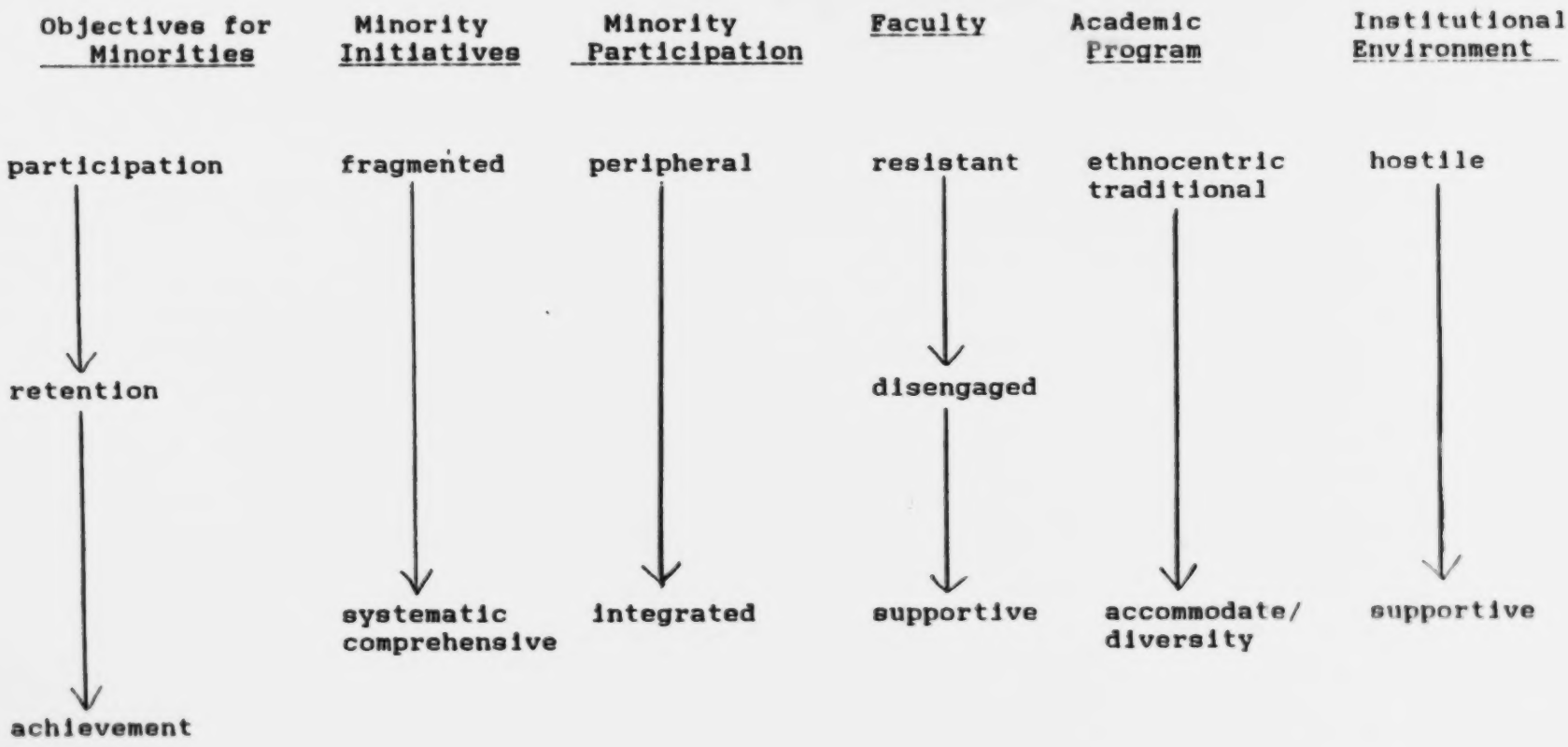
Nature of Minority Initiatives. In early stages of adaptation, minority initiatives are fragmented and disconnected responses that tend to be targeted on specific minority groups. In addition, initiatives concerned with access are not coordinated with those concerned with quality. As pressures to achieve both access and quality goals continue, however, conflicts intensify and the institution becomes increasingly aware of the need for redefinition of values and norms. Initiatives become more comprehensive and systematic. No longer focused on peripheral special programs, the effort to facilitate minority achievement involves all parts of the university. Potential incompatibilities between quality and access strategies are recognized and averted as these strategies are seen as part of the same goal.

Minority Participation in the Organization. One important indicator of adaptation in organizational culture is the increasing significance of the minority presence. The actual number of minorities on campus is one factor. For example, Hispanic students attend FIU, UNM and UTEP in large enough numbers to constitute a major or even predominant influence on social environment. More importantly, minority participation becomes integrated throughout the institutions in all academic departments and all support services, and minority involvement becomes more central to the operation of the organization. Minority faculty members begin to have a voice in policymaking through their departments and the faculty senate. Minority administrators are found in more strategic positions and minority students gain positions of leadership on the campus.

Academic Programs - Scheduling and Content. As an institution progresses through stages of adaptation, greater attention is given to curriculum modification as a strategy for making coursework more reflective of the increasing cultural diversity that characterizes the student body.

Table 2

Indicators of Stages in Adaptation of Organizational Culture to Quality/Access Tensions



DO NOT DUPLICATE OR QUOTE:

Institutions in urban settings develop greater flexibility in the delivery of instruction to accommodate nontraditional modes of college-going. Options such as summer bridge programs for college credit and introductory courses scheduled with more classroom hours and smaller numbers provide alternatives for getting past key screening courses.

Faculty Assumptions, Values, and Behaviors. The adaptation process for faculty members appears to move from resistance to disengagement to eventual support. At UCLA a faculty member described the reaction of his colleagues to a proposed affirmative action retreat for faculty: "What again?"; "What more is there to say?"; and "We know the numbers aren't good and the programs don't work." A senior administrator came at it from a slightly different perspective: "...[faculty] commitment develops on two levels. There is first of all a faculty commitment to administrators doing the job. This is relatively easy to obtain. .. faculty commitment to substantial effort on their part ... is not so easy to obtain."

University Environment. This change in faculty behavior is one aspect of a general change in the climate of the university environment as perceived by minority students. It becomes apparent to minorities that the university wants them to succeed although the new support may be attributed to institutional self-interest.

> UCLA, they try to keep you there...they want every freshman who comes there to graduate. They want that because UCLA is a school with a reputation. I don't know if that's good or bad but they want to see you graduate, not necessarily because they like you, but they want to see you graduate so that the majority of our freshmen get degrees. (Black graduate of UCLA)

While the graduates did not paint rosy pictures of utopian acceptance, most indicated that the climate of the case study institution attended was one in which minority students could succeed. As a black graduate of Wayne State commented, " I guess there's prejudice everywhere, but I didn't find it overbearing, not enough to hurt me."

Adaptation of organizational culture begins when state governments, governing boards, and community influences convince institutions that it is in their best interests to define minority achievement as a goal. While we have emphasized the importance of external factors in motivating this adaptation, administrative leadership are also critical.

Administrative Influences on Adaptation

When minority participation and achievement become a priority, administrators know how to respond effectively using available tools such as planning, resource allocation, enrollment management, hiring practices, collaboration, staff development, and consciousness-raising rhetoric. Though specific administrative strategies vary according to institutional characteristics and circumstances, all encompass the same key areas of

DO NOT DUPLICATE OR QUOTE:

institutional policy.

Enrollment management is critical to adaptation. Administrators can influence directly the pool of minority candidates recruited for admission, determining, for example, whether an institution will develop the outreach strategies necessary to serve older, more nontraditional minority students. Administrators also influence the characteristics and numbers of minority students admitted from the pool, the transitional experiences available to them, and the strategies employed to address preparation differences. Wayne State University, for example, offers an outreach program for students whose previous preparation leaves them ineligible for regular admission. Those who successfully complete 24 to 30 university credits in the special format classes transfer to other colleges within the university. A second program admits 350 marginally prepared students each year and supports them academically for three years through a summer bridge program, skills instruction, and tutorial assistance. Over time the graduation rates for participants of 35 to 40 percent in four years, have exceeded those for many regularly admitted students at Wayne Sate as well as elsewhere in urban universities.

Through hiring, tenure, and reward policies, administrators shape the composition of a faculty and staff and help to determine their priorities and expectations. Memphis State University (MSU) has a significant gap between the proportion of black students (18) and black faculty members (4). To address this problem, the university will create a position for any department recruiting a black candidate. MSU offers a recruiting program that pays moving expenses, provides released time from teaching, offers an additional allocation for library holdings and can pay a salary differential. There is also a "grow your own program" through which black graduates of special promise in high demand areas can be supported through their doctoral program on the condition they return to the university. At Memphis State, faculty members speak about the strong ethic of good teaching and the importance of a caring attitude.

Administrators influence significantly the allocation of resources for academic support programs and services, and determine priorities for the allocation of physical space. UCLA has integrated federal Trio programs and state equal opportunity funding within the office of undergraduate admissions and relations with schools, their home for outreach and early intervention programs; and within the academic advancement program, their focus for bridge programs and academic support services. University discretionary dollars devoted to these efforts exceed those available from state and federal categorical sources. While special records are kept for students qualifying for externally funded special programs, all students who require special services to succeed at UCLA receive them if they are willing to participate.

Successful early intervention on behalf of minority populations involves leadership in collaboration activities with external organization--employers and community agencies as well as the public schools and community colleges. Temple University's commitment to a close relationship with its

DO NOT DUPLICATE OR QUOTE:

community is exemplified in the "Temple Mile", a special relationship with high schools, grade schools, community groups and non-profit agencies within a one-mile radius of the campus. Thanks in part to this program, Temple has experienced a dramatic rise in the number of black enrolling in non-traditional fields for minority youth: actuarial science, engineering, computer science and architecture; The increase can be traced to transfers from the Community College of Philadelphia, students enrolling directly from the High School of Engineering and Science, part of the Temple Mile, and the efforts of PRIME, a cooperative area-wide program established through corporate sponsorship with significant financial support from business, industry, and philanthropic organizations.

Perhaps the most important influence of central administration comes through its ability to plan strategically for coordination of the complex components of an effective design for promoting minority achievement. California State University, Dominguez Hills serves a student population that varies widely in age, quality of preparation, race/ethnicity, financial capability, and maturity of academic interests. Students enrolled in their affirmative action and equal opportunity programs have experienced retention and graduation rates that compare very favorably with the general student body. The lessons learned in improving educational equity are now being expanded to the total student population. A key element of CSUDH strategy involves coordinating and intensifying the already successful efforts of support staff while concurrently increasing the faculty role in advising, recruiting, admitting and referring students.

Central administrators play an essential role in monitoring the success of institutional strategies. Consistent and detailed student flow information aids in clarifying issues and in identifying strategies for addressing them. Administrative insistence that information on the gap between desired and current performance be provided marks the first step in designing serious strategies for improving minority achievement. Florida International University in Miami has information about the enrollment and retention patterns of its students by race/ethnicity over more than ten years of rapid growth and change. They know how native freshmen perform in comparison with their large transfer contingent. Thanks to an excellent statewide information system, FIU can compare its retention rates with other units of the state university system. By understanding the characteristics and performance of their students over time they are able to focus resources where they are most needed and to obtain very good graduation rates with an urban, largely commuting population.

The role of institutional leadership is thus critical in the development of the policies that promote the adaptation process both for minority students and for the universities they attend. Through the strategies they employ and the ways in which they involve faculty members and students, administrators influence both the demands of an institution's academic and social environment and the way in which it is experienced by minority students. By providing leadership to redefine quality in ways that are no longer inconsistent with minority access, they position their institutions so that

DO NOT DUPLICATE OR QUOTE:

the racial and ethnic backgrounds of students cease to be a source of status attribution. As a senior administrator stated at UCLA, "to reach maturity in their relationships with minority students .. [universities] must surmount a widespread perception that a quality university cannot afford to enroll too many black and Hispanic students."

The Stages of Adaptation Framework

To validate and extend the framework emerging from the ten case studies, we are currently planning to look at minority participation and achievement in a broad sample of public institutions in eight states. The focus of this research will be on the key roles state-level policymakers and institutional leaders play in promoting minority degree attainment. In-depth case studies of selected institutions will explore administrator behavior at various stages of institutional adaptation to resolve quality and access issues.

As the "stage of adaptation" framework becomes refined it can guide policymakers at both the state and institutional levels. Emphasizing the need for a broad perspective in the development of minority initiatives, the framework calls for a consideration of both external and internal influences and a focus on comprehensive strategies tied to shared values of institutional culture. Policymakers are reminded that success in promoting educational equity is measured in terms of both participation and graduation rates and that a "ratcheting" of these two measures is expected as institutions progress through stages of adaptation.

Progress in reducing race/ethnicity-related differences in educational achievement is most likely when states give high priority to both access and quality goals, keeping minority issues on institutional agendas while concurrently calling for accountability of outcomes and maintenance of educational quality. To be more than token, state policy commitment must be backed by incentives and penalties as well as a monitoring system that permits prompt and public recognition of institutional progress.

In developing institutional policy, administrative leaders need to consider a complex set of factors including their historical relationship with the minority populations they serve, the opportunity orientations and preparation of potential minority students, and their institutional mission. These factors should influence the search for relevant examples in the experiences of other institutions. Too much of the current literature on minority higher education suggests ready-made "cook book" strategies that can be used without regard for the unique situation of each college. In contrast, our research suggests that it is not the implementation of a particular program or policy that leads to success but rather the coordination of a wide variety of strategies in systematic institutionally-appropriate efforts. Successful efforts, however, are distinguished by their simultaneous focus on both quality and access and their sensitivity to the unintended consequences of specific initiatives.

Because our research has led to the identification of change in

organizational culture as the basis for institutional adaptation, the interpretive role (Chaffee 1985) of administrative leaders is highlighted. Leaders contribute most to the adaptation process when they facilitate a clarification of fundamental values. The twin issues of quality and access have never ceased to be at the heart of the debates which surround public higher education. Our ability to resolve apparent conflicts between these two valued goals is still the prerequisite for the continued viability of colleges and universities serving a nation whose strength lies in its diversity.

References

Astin, A.W. 1982. Minorities in higher education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Astin, A.W. 1985. Achieving educational excellence. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Attinasi, L.C. 1986. "Getting in: Chicanos' perception of university going with implications for freshman-year persistence." Ph.D. dissertation, Arizona State University.

Atwell, R.H. 1988. Minority participation in higher education: We need a new momentum. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education.

Chaffee, E.E. 1985. Three models of strategy. Academy of Management Review 10(1): 89-98.

Education Commission of the States and State Higher Education Executive Officers Association. 1987. Focus on minorities: Synopsis of state higher education initiatives. State Higher Education Executive Officers. Denver, Co.

Fleming, J. 1984. Blacks in college. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Kingston, P.W. 1984. The maintenance of educational hierarchy. Recent trends in where blacks go to college. College and University 60:37-53.

Madrid, A. 1988. Quality and diversity. AAHE Bulletin 40(10)8-11.

Mingle, J.R. 1987. Focus on minorities: Trends in higher education participation and success. Denver, Colorado: Education Commission of the States and the State Higher Education Executive Officers.

Pfeffer, J. and G.R. Salancik. 1978. The external control of organizations: A resource dependence perspective. New York: Harper and Row.

Seneca, J.J., and M.K. Taussig. 1987. Educational quality, access, and

tuition policy at state universities. Journal of Higher Education 58:25-37.

Solomon, L.C. 1981. "A multidimensional approach to quality." In Quality-higher education's principal challenge, edited by T. Stauffer. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education.

Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education. 1987. From minority to majority: Education and the future of the Southwest. A report and recommendations by the WICHE regional policy committee on minorities in higher education. Boulder,Co.

APPENDIX A

Enrollment and Graduation Data
for Ten Case-Study Institutions

CHART BY RACE: BLACK

STATE	STATE POPULATION: TOTAL: % BLACK		18-24 YRS. OLD HIGH SCHOOL GRADS: % BLACK		SCHOOL	ENROLLMENT TOTAL : % BLACK						GRADUATED TOTAL : % BLACK					
	1980		1980			1976		1980		1984		1976		1980		1984	
CALIFORNIA	23,667,902	1,818,660 7.68%	2,237,148	212,524 9.50%	CSU-DH	5,867	1,809 30.83%	6,312	2,538 40.21%	5,855	2,004 34.23%	1,033	296 28.65%	998	356 35.67%	1,164	338 29.04%
	23,667,902	1,818,660 7.68%	2,237,148	212,524 9.50%	U C L A	26,310	1,718 6.53%	21,822	1,359 6.23%	22,893	1,304 5.70%	4,431	211 4.76%	4,214	156 3.70%	4,718	165 3.50%
FLORIDA	9,746,324	1,343,134 13.78%	836,432	124,098 14.84%	F I U	8,498	812 9.56%	9,220	810 8.79%	14,259	1,107 7.76%	2,241	138 6.16%	2,291	137 5.98%	1,806	101 5.59%
	9,746,324	1,343,134 13.78%	836,432	124,098 14.84%	F S U	15,565	1,283 8.24%	16,478	1,576 9.56%	16,689	1,236 7.41%	3,799	211 5.55%	3,516	285 8.11%	3,645	213 5.84%
MICHIGAN	9,262,078	1,197,177 12.93%	965,293	106,809 11.06%	W S U	24,609	6,691 27.19%	23,169	6,318 27.27%	19,917	5,202 26.12%	2,996	645 21.53%	2,790	585 20.97%	2,378	444 18.67%
NEW MEXICO	1,302,894	23,071 1.77%	112,909	3,305 2.93%	U N M	18,823	314 1.67%	18,651	377 2.02%	21,688	463 2.13%	1,933	21 1.09%	1,825	15 0.82%	1,848	23 1.24%
NEW YORK	17,558,072	2,405,818 13.70%	1,617,444	199,880 12.36%	CUNY-BC	20,261	3,548 17.51%	14,571	3,337 22.90%	11,453	N/L 0.00%	3,261	354 10.86%	1,805	482 26.70%	1,403	N/L 0.00%
PENN.	11,863,895	1,045,318 8.81%	1,216,196	95,887 7.88%	I U	23,173	4,867 21.00%	21,615	4,310 19.94%	19,335	3,585 18.54%	3,264	434 13.30%	3,102	398 12.83%	2,982	326 11.00%
TENNESSEE	4,591,120	725,942 15.81%	428,152	75,593 17.66%	M S U	16,175	2,664 16.47%	15,478	2,864 18.50%	16,518	3,288 19.91%	1,804	211 11.70%	1,690	248 14.67%	1,679	240 14.29%
TEXAS	14,229,191	1,704,741 11.98%	1,307,761	180,423 13.80%	U T E P	12,961	270 2.08%	13,930	328 2.35%	13,123	301 2.29%	1,290	17 1.32%	1,503	43 2.86%	1,329	46 3.46%

CHART BY RACE: HISPANIC

STATE	STATE POPULATION: TOTAL : % HISPANIC		18-24 YRS. OLD HIGH SCH GRADS: % HISPANIC		SCHOOL	ENROLLMENT TOTAL : % HISPANIC						GRADUATED TOTAL : % HISPANIC					
	1980		1980			1976		1980		1984		1976		1980		1984	
CALIFORNIA	23,667,902	4,541,300 19.19%	2,237,148	378,832 16.93%	CSU-D.H.	5,867	417 7.11%	6,312	613 9.71%	5,855	599 10.23%	1,033	65 6.29%	998	79 7.92%	1,164	8[illegible] 7.6[illegible]
	23667902	4541300 19.19%	2,237,148	378,832 16.93%	U C L A	26,310	1,743 6.62%	21,822	1,371 6.28%	22,893	1,980 8.65%	4,431	151 3.41%	4,214	201 4.77%	4718	25[illegible] 5.4[illegible]
FLORIDA	9,746,324	858,105 8.80%	836,432	76,405 9.13%	F I U	8,498	1,975 23.24%	9,220	2,947 31.96%	14,259	5,564 39.02%	2,241	446 19.90%	2,291	531 23.18%	1806	61[illegible] 34.1[illegible]
	9746324	858105 8.80%	836,432	76,405 9.13%	F S U	15,565	143 0.92%	16,478	306 1.86%	16,689	452 2.71%	3,799	32 0.84%	3,516	45 1.28%	3,645	8[illegible] 2.2[illegible]
MICHIGAN	9,262,078	157,626 1.70%	965,293	14,477 1.50%	W S U	24,609	407 1.65%	23,169	398 1.72%	19,917	364 1.83%	2,996	32 1.07%	2,790	35 1.25%	2,378	3[illegible] 1.4[illegible]
NEW MEXICO	1,302,894	477,051 36.61%	112,909	47,808 42.34%	U N M	18,823	4,557 24.21%	18,651	4,302 23.07%	21,688	5,323 24.54%	1,933	334 17.28%	1,825	358 19.62%	1,848	36[illegible] 19.8[illegible]
NEW YORK	17,558,072	1,660,901 9.46%	1,617,444	119,256 7.37%	CUNY-B.C	20,261	1,356 6.69%	14,571	1,032 7.08%	11,453	N/L 0.00%	3,261	165 5.06%	1,805	150 8.31%	1,403	N/L 0.0[illegible]
PENN.	11,863,895	153,579 1.29%	1,216,196	13,293 1.09%	T U	23,173	1,340 5.78%	21,615	379 1.75%	19,335	331 1.71%	3,264	97 2.97%	3,102	56 1.81%	2,982	3[illegible] 1.1[illegible]
TENNESSEE	4,591,120	32,138 0.70%	428,152	4,187 0.98%	M S U	16,175	12 0.07%	15,478	28 0.18%	16,518	38 0.23%	1,804	4 0.22%	1,690	2 0.12%	1,679	[illegible] 0.1[illegible]
TEXAS	14,229,191	2,982,583 20.96%	1,307,761	225,130 17.21%	U T E P	12,961	3,961 30.56%	13,930	6,108 43.85%	13,123	6,646 50.64%	1,290	533 41.32%	1,503	637 42.38%	1,329	59[illegible] 44.7[illegible]

CHART BY RACE: AMERICAN INDIAN

STATE	STATE POPULATION: TOTAL: 1980	STATE POPULATION: % A. INDIAN 1980	18-24 YRS. OLD HIGH SCH GRADS: 1980	18-24 YRS. OLD HIGH SCH GRADS: % A.INDIAN 1980	SCHOOL	ENROLLMENT TOTAL: 1976	ENROLLMENT % AMERICAN INDIAN 1976	ENROLLMENT TOTAL: 1980	ENROLLMENT % AMERICAN INDIAN 1980	ENROLLMENT TOTAL: 1984	ENROLLMENT % AMERICAN INDIAN 1984	GRADUATED TOTAL: 1976	GRADUATED % AMERICAN INDIAN 1976	GRADUATED TOTAL: 1980	GRADUATED % AMERICAN INDIAN 1980	GRADUATED TOTAL: 1984	GRADUATED % AMERICAN INDIAN 1984
CALIFORNIA	23,667,902	227,757 0.96%	2,237,148	23,987 1.07%	CSU-D.H.	5,867	62 1.06%	6,312	84 1.33%	5,855	63 1.08%	1,033	10 0.97%	998	22 2.20%	1,164	21 1.80%
	23,667,902	227,757 0.96%	2,237,148	23,987 1.07%	U C L A	26,310	138 0.52%	21,822	76 0.35%	22,893	116 0.51%	4,431	19 0.43%	4,214	25 0.59%	4,718	15 0.32%
FLORIDA	9,746,324	24,714 0.25%	836,432	2,650 0.32%	F I U	8,498	32 0.38%	9,220	9 0.10%	14,259	11 0.08%	2,241	16 0.71%	2,291	N/L 0.00%	1,806	2 0.11%
	9,746,324	24,714 0.25%	836,432	2,650 0.32%	F S U	15,565	30 0.19%	16,478	15 0.09%	16,689	23 0.14%	3,799	4 0.11%	3,516	2 0.06%	3,645	2 0.05%
MICHIGAN	9,262,078	44,712 0.48%	965,293	3,907 0.40%	W S U	24,609	433 1.76%	23,169	246 1.06%	19,917	171 0.86%	2,996	10 0.33%	2,790	22 0.79%	2,378	18 0.76%
NEW MEXICO	1,302,894	106,585 8.18%	112,909	9,364 8.29%	U N M	18,823	605 3.21%	18,651	559 3.00%	21,688	697 3.21%	1,933	77 3.98%	1,825	81 4.44%	1,848	57 3.08%
NEW YORK	17,558,072	43,508 0.25%	1,617,444	3,799 0.23%	CUNY-B.C.	20,261	156 0.77%	14,571	109 0.75%	11,453	0 0.00%	3,261	22 0.67%	1,805	N/L 0.00%	1,403	N/L 0.00%
PENN.	11,863,895	10,928 0.09%	1,216,196	1,119 0.09%	T U	23,173	67 0.29%	21,615	101 0.47%	19,335	64 0.33%	3,264	10 0.31%	3,102	18 0.58%	2,982	6 0.20%
TENNESSEE	4,591,120	5,013 0.11%	428,152	765 0.18%	M S U	16,175	11 0.07%	15,478	8 0.05%	16,518	12 0.07%	1,804	1 0.06%	1,690	0 0.00%	1,679	N/L 0.00%
TEXAS	14,229,191	50,296 0.35%	1,307,761	5,243 0.40%	U T E P	12,961	75 0.58%	13,930	59 0.42%	13,123	33 0.25%	1,290	2 0.16%	1,503	8 0.53%	1,329	3 0.23%

23

APPENDIX B

Enrollment and Graduation Indices
for Ten Case-Study Institutions

PARTICIPATION INDEX: BLACK

NOTE: Census data on which enrollment indices are based are available only for 1980. See Appendix A for complete enrollment and graduation data.

SCHOOL	ENROLLMENT INDEX*		GRADUATION INDEX**	
	1980		1980	1984
CSU-D.H.	40.21 / 9.5 = 4.232		35.67 / 30.83 = 1.156	29.04 / 40.21 = 0.722
U C L A	6.23 / 9.5 = 0.655		3.7 / 6.53 = 0.566	3.5 / 6.23 = 0.561
F I U	8.79 / 14.84 = 0.592		5.98 / 9.56 = 0.625	5.59 / 8.79 = 0.635
F S U	9.56 / 14.84 = 0.644		8.11 / 8.24 = 0.984	5.84 / 9.56 = 0.610
W S U	27.27 / 11.06 = 2.465		20.97 / 27.19 = 0.771	18.67 / 27.27 = 0.684
U N M	2.02 / 2.93 = 0.689		0.82 / 1.67 = 0.491	1.24 / 2.02 = 0.613
CUNY-B.C.	22.9 / 12.36 = 1.852		26.7 / 17.51 = 1.524	N/L / 22.9 = 0
T U	19.94 / 7.88 = 2.530		12.83 / 21 = 0.610	11 / 19.94 = 0.551
M S U	18.5 / 17.66 = 1.047		14.67 / 16.47 = 0.890	14.29 / 18.5 = 0.772
U T E P	2.35 / 13.8 = 0.170		2.86 / 2.08 = 1.375	3.46 / 2.35 = 1.472

*College's Black undergrads/college's total undergrads

State's Black 18-24 yr old high school grads/state's total 18-24 yr old high school grads

**College's Black baccalaureate grads/total baccalaureate grads
---
College's Black undergrads/total undergrads (4 years earlier)

PARTICIPATION INDEX: HISPANIC

NOTE: Census data on which enrollment indices are based are available only for 1980. See Appendix A for complete enrollment and graduation data.

SCHOOL	ENROLLMENT INDEX*	GRADUATION INDEX**	
	1980	1980	1984
CSU-D.H.	9.71 / 16.93 = 0.573	7.92 / 7.11 = 1.113	7.65 / 9.71 = 0.787
U C L A	6.28 / 16.93 = 0.370	4.77 / 6.62 = 0.720	5.47 / 6.28 = 0.871
F I U	31.96 / 9.13 = 3.500	23.18 / 23.24 = 0.997	34.16 / 31.96 = 1.068
F S U	1.86 / 9.13 = 0.203	1.28 / 0.92 = 1.391	2.22 / 1.86 = 1.193
W S U	1.72 / 1.5 = 1.146	1.25 / 1.65 = 0.757	1.43 / 1.72 = 0.831
U N M	23.07 / 42.34 = 0.544	19.62 / 24.21 = 0.810	19.86 / 23.07 = 0.860
CUNY-B.C.	7.08 / 7.37 = 0.960	8.31 / 6.69 = 1.242	N/L / 7.08 = 0
T U	1.75 / 1.09 = 1.605	1.81 / 5.78 = 0.313	1.17 / 1.75 = 0.668
M S U	0.18 / 0.98 = 0.183	0.12 / 0.07 = 1.714	0.12 / 0.18 = 0.666
U T E P	43.85 / 17.21 = 2.547	42.38 / 30.56 = 1.386	44.77 / 43.85 = 1.020

*College's Hispanic undergrads/college's total undergrads

State's Hispanic 18-24 yr old high school grads/state's total 18-24 yr old high school grads

**College's Hispanic baccalaureate grads/total baccalaureate grads
---
College's Hispanic undergrads/total undergrads (4 years earlier)

PARTICIPATION INDEX: AMERICAN INDIANS

NOTE: Census data on which enrollment indices are based are available only for 1980. See Appendix A for complete enrollment and graduation data.

SCHOOL	ENROLLMENT INDEX*	GRADUATION INDEX**	
	1980	1980	1984
CSU-D.H.	1.33 / 1.07 = 1.242	2.20 / 1.06 = 2.075	1.80 / 1.33 = 1.353
U C L A	0.35 / 1.07 = 0.327	0.59 / 0.52 = 1.134	0.32 / 0.35 = 0.914
F I U	0.10 / 0.32 = 0.312	N/L / 0.38 = ?	0.11 / 0.10 = 1.1
F S U	0.09 / 0.32 = 0.281	0.06 / 0.19 = 0.315	0.05 / 0.09 = 0.555
W S U	1.06 / 0.4 = 2.65	0.79 / 1.76 = 0.448	0.76 / 1.06 = 0.716
U N M	3.00 / 8.29 = 0.361	4.44 / 3.21 = 1.383	3.08 / 3.00 = 1.026
CUNY-B.C.	0.75 / 0.23 = 3.260	N/L / 0.77 = ?	N/L / 0.75 = ?
T U	0.47 / 0.09 = 5.222	0.58 / 0.29 = 2	0.20 / 0.47 = 0.425
M S U	0.05 / 0.18 = 0.277	0.00 / 0.07 = 0	N/L / 0.05 = 0
U T E P	0.42 / 0.4 = 1.05	0.53 / 0.58 = 0.913	0.23 / 0.42 = 0.547

*College's A.Indian undergrads/college's total undergrads

State's A.Indian 18-24 yr old high school grads/state's total 18-24 yr old high school grads

**College's A.Indian baccalaureate grads/total baccalaureate grads
---
College's A.Indian undergrads/total undergrads (four years earlier).